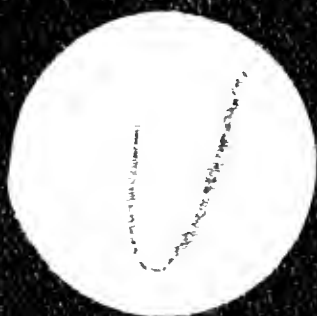




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UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

LETTER

OF

GEORGE W. HOPKINS,

OF

RUSSELL,

TO

COL. JAMES H. PIPER,

OF

WYATT.



WASHINGTON :
1840.

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1836 Nov 29

LETTER.

CITY OF WASHINGTON, MARCH 16, 1840.

COL. JAS. H. PIPER :

My Dear Sir—Your letter, which solicits the expression of my opinions about the great political parties that agitate the country, was lately received.

Our private and political relations ; my respect for your character and honorable intentions ; and my aversion to conceal any opinions that my constituents may desire to know, all induce me, with promptitude and frankness, to satisfy your desire, and to assign, as I shall now proceed to do, some of the prominent reasons which persuade me to support the present administration of the General Government.

Since I had the honor to serve in the Congress of the United States I have honestly endeavored to sustain those great public principles only, which the Constitution sanctions, and which Jefferson and his coadjutors in politics made practically prevalent among us. And while every day's experience confirms the wisdom and utility of those opinions, I am not aware that there is any public action of my life which indicates a departure from them.

If, on any of the memorable measures of public policy which vexed the public mind, I have differed from my political brethren, it was from a dutiful solicitude to preserve unimpaired that proud fabric of civil liberty which was reared and consecrated by the unshaken constancy of our greatest and purest men.

The Conservative party, in the United States, was avowedly formed for the maintenance of our constitutional principles. And in the hope and expectation to *preserve*, not to *defeat* these principles, I became a member of it. But, since the prominent men who reared that party, and gave the greatest force and direction to it,

have plunged into dangerous extremes, and now openly countenance and support the public men and public measures they lately opposed and reprobated, I feel constrained by my pride—by the love of consistency and public principle—to return to my old political associates of the Democratic party, and to co-operate with them in the public cause.

The Independent Treasury measure, for the collection, safe keeping, and disbursement of the public revenue, which Mr. Van Buren recommended at the called session of Congress, in 1837, is the only prominent measure of the President that I have hitherto failed to support. I never did consider that measure as obnoxious to any constitutional objection whatever. But the thing was new and untried; without the experience and example of our ancestors, denounced by a large portion of my fellow-citizens, and so concertedly and violently opposed by the whole dynasty of associated wealth, and by the banks especially, that I was constrained to look upon it with distrust and fear. But candor compels me to acknowledge that the reasons for a Presidential recommendation of the measure are, in my judgment, more apparent and persuasive since the repeated failure of the Banks to fulfil their fiscal engagements to the Government.

In 1834, General Gordon, of Virginia, a Whig of rank, character, and abilities, introduced into the Congress of the United States this celebrated measure. And then the great body of General Gordon's political coadjutors joined him in denouncing the State Banks as improper depositories of the public funds, and predicted that a reliance of the Government upon them would be disastrous to the national credit. The friendly and liberal disposition which President Jackson and Mr. Van Buren both manifested towards the State Banks, met my cordial approbation at the time, and, owing to the circumstances of the country, I was disposed, under certain limitations and restrictions, to continue my support of the State Banks as fiscal agents of the Government, longer than many of my political friends would agree to do. I did not credit the prediction of the Whigs in relation to the Banks. And, even after the wisdom of the prediction had been confirmed by the memorable and disastrous experience of every State in the Union, I was still loath to abandon

the Banks ; lest in so doing, I might augment, rather than alleviate, the general distresses of the country. My support of those institutions was real and honest—not factious nor political. But many of the politicians who had condemned those State institutions in advance suddenly dispelled their fears, the very moment the Banks failed to pay their debts in specie ; and then, for the first time, supported the Banks as the proper depositories of the public funds ; or, rather, as convenient engines, subservient to their will, and necessary to hoist their patrons into power and place. Mr. Clay himself, if I mistake not, openly declared in the Senate that his support of them was rather ostensible than real, and given in the hope and expectation that the continued and manifest incompetency of these State institutions to fulfil their engagements to the public would produce the incorporation of a National Bank.

The fourth section of the act of Congress of the 2d September 1789, declares, “the ‘Treasurer shall receive and keep the public moneys of the United States, and disburse the same on warrants drawn by the Secretary of the ‘Treasury, countersigned by the proper officer, and recorded according to law.” The only kind of money which this law allowed the ‘Treasurer to receive and keep was money of the legal currency of the United States. The United States Bank was not then in existence, and no bank-notes of any kind were considered as legal currency of the United States. Neither the constitution, nor any law or resolution of Congress, had made them such. And yet, in one month after the passage of the act of 1789, to which I have referred, Alexander Hamilton, then Secretary of the ‘Treasury, issued a ‘Treasury order, authorizing bank-notes to be received into the ‘Treasury, in payment of the public dues. This arbitrary order, issued, as I think, without authority of law, opened the way for a gradual admission into the ‘Treasury, of a variety of moneys, all tending to confuse and to depreciate the legal currency of the United States.

The currency ultimately became so bad, that on the 30th of April 1816, Congress resolved that “no duties, debts, or sums of money payable to the United States, ought to be collected or received otherwise than in the legal currency of the United States, or in ‘Treasury Notes, or in the Notes of banks which pay their Notes in the legal currency of the United States.”

The deposit act of the 23d of June 1836, authorised the Secretary of the Treasury to select, as depositories of public moneys, Banks convenient to the places where the revenue was payable and disbursable. The deposit Banks were accordingly selected; and required "to credit as specie, all sums deposited therein, to the credit of the Treasurer of the United States, and to pay all checks, warrants or drafts, drawn on such deposits, in specie, if required by the holder thereof." Such Banks were to be discontinued as depositories of the revenue of the Government, on failing to redeem their notes in specie.

And it must be admitted that, in a state of profound peace with all the nations of the earth, the state Banks did, in May 1837, simultaneously and concertedly proclaim to the world that they could no longer discharge their debts or fulfil their engagements to the Government; and that President Van Buren, representing (as his high office and his oath required him to do) the credit, the dignity and safety of the nation, was forced to convene Congress, and disclose that important fact to the representatives of the people, and to remind them of the precarious condition of our monetary affairs, and the necessity of providing efficient means for the future preservation of them.

In such a crisis of the national credit, as was produced by the suspension of the Banks in 1837, all must concede that the President could only recommend to Congress a continuation of the State Banks as fiscal agents of the General Government, or the establishment of a National Bank, for that purpose, or the adoption of legal provisions for the future collection, preservation and disbursement of the national funds, through the medium of a National Treasury, independent of the Banks.

The President deemed it unwise and dangerous to re-adopt the State Bank Deposit System, directly after the notorious failure of the Banks to perform for the Government, obligations which were indispensable to the credit and security of the nation. I was disposed, under such regulations as past experience was calculated to suggest, to try them again, under the hope that their obligations might be made effective by severe penal provisions. Yet, I cannot now deny that great allowance is, in fairness, to be made for

the refusal of the President to recommend them. His opponents, and the federal portion of them especially, had denounced the State Banks before they were tried as fiscal agents of the Government. And the impartial judgment of the whole country is, that the Banks have been fairly and fully tried; and that they have signally failed more than once. All the politicians, therefore, who delight to augur misgovernment in the democratic party, and who can never perceive any merit in the action of the President, would have seized the occasion to rouse the public indignation against him, had he again recommended institutions against which the opposition solemnly warned him; and which had so lately violated their most important engagements to the nation.

Honesty forbade the President from recommending to Congress, the establishment of a National Bank. Because, before his election to the presidential office, he had declared to the whole nation the solemn, deliberate conviction of his judgment, that a National Bank was not compatible with our fundamental laws, nor with the public policy and welfare. And on the wisdom of that declaration placed the issue of the Presidential election in 1836. Besides, the public voice, proclaimed at the polls, and echoed in the halls of legislation in an unambiguous and decisive manner, decreed the sleep of death to the National Bank,—that bloated, reckless, avaricious haridan which the genius of corruption had employed in the seduction of the national morals, till the virtue of the republic seemed to sicken into pestilence and desolation.

Mr. Van Buren, therefore, refused to recommend either the State Banks or a National Bank; but as a substitute, recommended, as the safest depository of the public funds, a National Treasury, independent of all Banks, whether National or State;—and the officers of which should be created by the nation, compensated by the nation, responsible to the nation, and punishable by the nation for every abuse of trust and authority.

The public attention has been freely invoked to examine this memorable measure ever since the President recommended it at the called session of September, 1837. Meanwhile, in October last, the State Banks, including the boastful regulator, the United States Bank of Pennsylvania, once more suspended specie

payments, when we had no foreign war, nor domestic calamity to disconcert our foreign commerce or internal trade.

We owe it to the bounty of Providence, and to the wisdom, moderation, and decision of the President, that the sore calamity of foreign war did not fall upon the nation at either period of the suspensions to which I have referred. The cloud of war, foreign and domestic—savage and civilized, still impend over the political horizon of our beloved country. And the wisdom of the wisest man cannot venture to prognosticate how long the blessings of national peace will abide among us. If, in the hour of peace and prosperity, the nation has more than once, within a very short period of time, been unjustly deprived by the Banks of her indispensable resources, war would afford those institutions additional pretexts, if not adequate excuse, to lock up from the national defence all the specie of the government; that specie which is the necessary support of the nation,—our life blood in peace, and our sinews in war. In short, the Banks might, either from necessity, avarice or the love of power, dictate to the nation the terms of an ignominious peace, and the surrender of our national honor and independence.

I unhesitatingly avow therefore, that my opposition to the Independent Treasury measure has so far yielded to the convictions of reason and truth, that I am not only willing, but anxious, to give to the measure a fair and candid experiment. And I shall derive the highest satisfaction if the practical operation of the system shall illustrate the fallacy of my former opposition, and fulfil the expectations of its warmest friends.

But I now repeat, what I have often declared before my generous and confiding constituents, that I cherish no hostile disposition towards the State Banks. For whilst I have ever been emphatically anti-bank in all my feelings and opinions,—have never owned one dollar of Bank stock, nor borrowed one dollar from any institution of that sort, I cannot but remember that the State Banks have been created, in the process of society, by what has been regarded as the necessities of mankind. And fostered, as they have been, by the taste, policy and institutions of the country, I consider them to be the useful handmaids of foreign commerce and internal trade.

which ought not, and cannot be rashly or suddenly abolished, without shocking every interest in our common country. I would willingly encourage and support the Banks in their proper and legitimate vocations. I shall oppose them only when they madly wander from their appropriate spheres;—when they claim as their right, the custody of the public purse;—when, backed by the whole dynasty of associated wealth, they aspire to become politicians, and daringly contend for lead and authority in the Government;—when they fain would become the vital arteries through which the blood of the body politic must either circulate with wholesome vigor and life, or soon stagnate into pestilence and death.

The recommendation to Congress of the independent Treasury system, and a divorce of the Government from Banks, roused against the Administration the simultaneous and concerted hostility of all the moneyed institutions which the President desired to see divested of a legal control over the National Treasure. Yet the President offered no wrong to any of those potent institutions. He found by fruitful experience that the political connexion which delegated that control to the Banks was injurious to the public interest—and wished by a timely and amicable separation to leave the Banks as they formerly were, in the complete exercise of all the corporate rights and privileges to which they were entitled under the provisions of their respective charters. The right and duty of the Government to dissolve the connexion fully and legally accrued on the admitted and notorious failure of the Banks to perform for the Government the most important stipulated duties; duties which the banks utterly failed to perform, and on a true and proper performance of which alone, their connexion with the Government expressly depended.

Still the banks solicit and expect the Government to renew and invigorate the hitherto disastrous connexion. And to effectuate their object have brought into operation all the fearful resources of combined wealth. Failing to persuade the President into his official approbation of their wishes, they have continually labored through the agency of ambitious politicians and favored partizans to delude the public mind, and to excite the most groundless pre-

judice against the Chief Magistrate, by the unjust and disingenuous accusation that he wickedly endeavors to deprive the Banks of their legal rights ; to destroy the whole credit system, and at once to disconcert the order of private business and national trade.

The towns, that almost monopolize the immediate benefit of Banks, have every where been stimulated by the natural spirit of monopoly to countenance and propagate this idle and ungenerous charge ; and have liberally encouraged the public press to denounce the President for expressing the opinion that the national treasure should no longer be confided to the arbitrary pleasure, the precarious credit, and ambitious designs of the Banks.

A vast number of the individuals indebted to the Banks are unprepared to settle their accounts, and upon whom even a curtail would operate like a paralytic shock. A still greater number continually court pecuniary favors from the Banks. While the Banks themselves, always bent on an augmentation of their profits, naturally solicit the custody of the public purse, and force their debtors to aid the avaricious desire.

To withhold the use of the national Treasury from the Banks, therefore, is to cross and frustrate the pecuniary necessities of a numerous, active, and powerful combination of bodies, natural and artificial.

The Banking authorities, with such countless, necessitous auxiliaries, combine against the Administration ; and by a bold, simultaneous and persevering effort to control the revenue and finances of the United States, aspire to the exercise of powers that are formidable in the extreme, and which threaten to overthrow the freedom of the only hopeful Republic in the world.

If this combined encroachment on the regular, constitutional province of the nation to collect and disburse its own revenue cannot be successfully resisted, the speedy consequence must be a total change in the structure and purposes of the Government. And those potent corporations, like the hundred Fathers of ancient Rome, may gradually organize themselves into the patrician orders of the regal age, dictate the national measures, and regulate all foreign commerce and internal trade. And even should the structure of the

Government remain the same, the vital spirit of liberty, which has animated and adorned our Republic, will become extinct and still.

Incorporated wealth never cloy the appetite it feeds. Every morsel of the stimulating aliment produces increase of hunger and thirst—until at last, the plethoric tendencies of the diet, swell the body politic into a puffed and reckless libertine.

Mr. Rives himself declared in the Senate of the United States that to give the Banks the public deposits, without the privilege to trade upon them, were a mockery and a humbug. And experience, I think, demonstrates that the privilege to trade upon them is liable to the most dangerous abuse.

The sentiment against the mismanagement of the Banks, and the disorders in the currency which that has a tendency to produce, have become so universal and notorious that no one can now be found hardy enough to bring forward a proposition in Congress to allow the Banks to trade on the name, credit and revenues of the United States.

Yet, in taking leave of the Conservative party, I cast no imputations upon it. The omnipotent Being, who alone is faultless and pure, and who has nothing to pardon in himself, may reward each one among us by a severe scrupulous standard of his own. But a fallible mortal like myself, whose very best actions must be charitably considered, if they would hope to pass the ordeal of God, cannot be too mild, tolerant and forgiving.

It has been definitively settled in a full and free convention of the Whigs, and proclaimed to the world, that General William H. Harrison, of the State of Ohio, is the only candidate they will support in the approaching presidential contest. This is the very same military chieftain whom the Whigs selected in 1836, and accoutred with the dazzling helmet and nodding plume to decoy the multitude from Mr. Van Buren and the democratic cause.

When the democratic party supported General Jackson, and raised him to the Presidential office, the opposition orators prognosticated to the multitude the certain destruction to our liberty and laws. And every effort of the tongue and pen was unscrupulously made to impress that terrific belief on the public mind. Mr. Clay, who was then the great leader and champion of the National Re-

publicans, since styled Whigs, in a public speech conjured the people against the parricidal act; and preferred “war, pestilence and famine,” to a military chieftain at the head of the government. And in a published letter which, in January 1825, he wrote to the Honorable Francis T. Brooke, of Virginia, he gave a solemn pledge that as “a friend of liberty and the permanence of our institutions, he could not consent, at that early stage of their existence, by contributing to the election of a military chieftain, *to give the strongest guarantee that this republic will march in the fatal road which has conducted every other republic to ruin.*”

The presses and orators throughout the land every where attested the general prevalence of this affected solicitude among the Whigs to secure our liberties against the fatal example of a military chieftain at the head of the government. Yet no sooner had Gen. Jackson retired from the public stage, than the very politicians who had boldly denounced all military chieftains as incompetent to civil rule, and dangerous to the national repose, brought forward and supported General Harrison for the presidential office. And surely, no two rivals for the public approbation were ever better qualified than General Harrison and Mr. Van Buren were, to represent the great political parties to which they respectively belonged.

I mistake the character of General Harrison, if he be not a genuine scholar of the old federal school; that school where Hamilton, and Pickering, and Marshall, and Ames graduated in the political science of the day. In former times, General Harrison was a member of Congress, and approved the objectionable measures that dismissed the federal party from the public confidence.

In the Senate of the United States, John Randolph, of Roanoke, thus addressed himself to General Harrison, then a member of the same body: “The only difference between the gentleman from Ohio, (General Harrison,) and myself is this—and it is vital: that gentleman and myself differ fundamentally and totally, and did differ when we first took our seats in Congress—he, a delegate from the territory North West of the river Ohio; I, as a member of the other House from the State of Virginia. *He was an open, zealous, frank supporter of the black cockade sedition law administration. We differed fundamentally and totally—we never agreed*

about measures or men. I do not mean to dictate to the gentleman—let us agree to differ as gentlemen ought to do, especially natives of the same State, who are antipodes to each other in politics. He, I acknowledge, just now the zenith, and I the nadir; but unless there is something false in the philosophy of the schools, in the course of time even those will change their places.”

To this address, the General replied: “He (Mr. Randolph,) has been pleased to say that under the administration of Mr. Adams, I was a federalist; and he comes to that conclusion from the course pursued by me in the session of 1799—1800. The gentleman had no means of knowing my political principles, unless he obtained them in private conversation. As I was on terms of intimacy with the gentleman, it is very probable that he might have heard me express *sentiments favorable to the then administration.* I certainly felt them.”

Here then, is the direct testimony of a gentleman who lived on terms of intimacy with General Harrison—who served with him in both Houses of Congress; and the explicit, unequivocal admission of the General himself, that the General’s political sentiments were favorable to the federal administration of the elder Adams.

And in a studied and elaborate speech, which he delivered at Cheviot, in the State of Ohio, on the 4th of July, 1833, and which was written, published, pamphletized and widely circulated, General Harrison re-asserted and promulgated the alarming canons of his political church. He advocated the power of Congress to incorporate a National Bank; the control of the Federal Judiciary over the other departments of the General Government; the power of the General Government to protect domestic manufactures by the imposition of duties on the importation of foreign goods; warmly approved the federal doctrines of Mr. Webster, delivered in the Senate in 1833, in defence of General Jackson’s proclamation against South Carolina; and placed that warlike manifesto against State Rights above Jackson’s glory when England’s arrogance was cloven down upon the plains of Orleans. And to round into grace and beauty a perfect federal creed, General Harrison expressed an earnest solicitude that the States should authorize Con-

gress to appropriate the whole surplus revenue of the Union to the purchase and emancipation of every slave in North America.

Such were the political opinions of General Harrison in 1833:— opinions freely and gratuitously proclaimed; recorded in the history of the times, and thoroughly considered by the people, long before the presidential contest which terminated in the election of Mr. Van Buren. And in that animated contention the same principles and designs were developed by the respective parties that have marked the political annals of this country from the foundation of the government to the present hour.

Never has history recorded a departure of practice from professions that is more wide, memorable and direct, than that which the Whigs manifested in their support of General Harrison for the presidential office. That discordant party smothered their personal and public griefs in a mutual rivalry for power and place. And ambitious aspirants who, in their notions about the public weal, had stood as wide asunder as the poles of the earth; who never did battle in a common cause; nor marched to the same tune; nor stacked arms on the same ground; then boldly covenanted to power, as they vainly did, their accumulated vengeance on the chosen champion of the democratic cause. All the restless pageants of departed sway mustered together in one common camp, under the venerable and imposing title of Whigs. Under the auspices of that deceptive name they constantly complained that exorbitant and unconstitutional powers were claimed and exercised by the administration party; deprecated the popular partiality for military service; and seemed to consider that all the perils that encompassed the public freedom and felicity were condensed and concentrated in the danger to State rights, from a military chieftain at the head of the government! Thus, with a perfect knowledge of the federal heresies of General Harrison, and that he too had followed the war, the Whigs deliberately voted to raise that military chieftain over all the worth and wisdom of the State Rights men.

Mr. Clay, in the teeth of his own opinions, deliberately and repeatedly proclaimed to his fellow men, has been lately stimulated by an inordinate party zeal, or by the hope, the expectation and promise of the succession to the Presidency, to quit his proper po-

sition in the national Senate—play the ambulant orator of his political priesthood—rise at the festive board, at midnight dances, and the public shows, and recommend this old military Chieftain—this superannuated idol of Whiggery—as the President of the United States. But the spirit of liberty which vanquished our oppressors in 1776—which produced the civil revolution in 1800, when the federal sway of the elder Adams expired forever—which roused the people to vindicate their rightful supremacy by the decisive rebuke they gave General Harrison in 1836—will continue to shine out with renovated ardor; and, heedless of the fogs which the Whigs throw up, animate to victory the unwavering champion of the Democratic cause.

Whilst I shall hereafter oppose, as hitherto I have done, such measures of Mr. Van Buren's administration as my judgment may condemn, I cannot withhold from him, or from you, the acknowledgment that I have found enough, in the just appreciation of his motives and measures, to forbid me to forsake him for one of General Harrison's pretensions and opinions. And in pursuing the dictates of my own judgment in this respect, I shall but meet the expectations of a large majority of my constituents; for, in private conversations and public addresses, prior to my departure for this city in November last, I constantly declared, that whilst it was my determination to oppose such measures of the Administration as I thought pernicious to the public interest, I should continue to support such as I might approve; and that between Mr. Van Buren and Mr. Clay, or any other member of the Federal party, I should not hesitate to prefer the former. This was my position, then fully and unequivocally defined, as many of my constituents can testify.

I profess no extraordinary solicitude for the public weal. And will not attempt hypocritically to persuade my countrymen into a disreputable fear of a Chieftain, even of the true martial order, much less of a Chieftain who, if not always of the opposite sort, is now old and feeble; the superannuated and reluctant idol of a discordant party, and almost a driveller and a show.

I readily acquit General Harrison of the potentiality of harm, when I remember what history records, that in his sinewy days, some seven and thirty years ago, when national gratitude awarded

the meed of voluntary praise to every gallant man, *he* displayed no heroic genius in the tented field, nor any disposition to continue there; but, on the contrary, hobbled in the paths of martial glory, and voluntarily retired from the troubles and dangers of war, at the moment when his country was engaged in the thickest of a perilous and doubtful fight for national honor and independence. General Harrison, without a pretence of sickness, or inability from any cause that I am aware of, resigned his commission as Major General in the Army of the United States. And we have the fullest authority to justify the assertion, that the Government never prevented General Harrison from serving in the Army from which he voluntarily retired; but that on the contrary, the Government assigned him a service, which, had he performed it, would have placed a wreath of laurel on his brow.

So late as February last, General Armstrong—now retired from the bustle of the world—with no motive to disparage a fellow man, and actuated solely by a disposition to historic truth, stated in his letter to the editors of the *National Intelligencer*—a letter founded on documentary evidence and published correspondence—

1st. That General Harrison, when arriving at Erie, was not from enmity, or envy, ordered to repair to Ohio, or *otherwise prevented from giving his services to the Army* then on the Niagara, as asserted by his biographer.

2dly. That on the contrary, he was without delay put in command of the Army, and assigned to a service, which, had it been performed, would have justly entitled him to another wreath of laurel.

3dly. That by a second order from the Secretary of War, he brought down McArthur's brigade, to reinforce the garrison at Sackett's Harbor; an order entirely approved and specially executed by the General.

4thly. That on the 11th May, 1813, six months after leaving Sackett's Harbor, he resigned the command of the district, and quitted the Army; not, as his biographer asserts, because denied the privilege of serving the Government, and therefore ashamed to eat its bread; but, as he himself says, "because he had some reason to

believe that malicious insinuations to his disadvantage had been made at Washington."

Long after this peaceful General had allowed his valor to cool, and his patriotism to flag, the true martial spirits of liberty bore up the national renown. And the gallant men, so cruelly deserted by the sunshine warrior of North Bend, dispelled their patriotic griefs, under the victorious banners of General Jackson, that warlike and patriotic man who faced with dauntless breast the tyrants of his country, and raised a name to live "so long as the Mississippi shall continue to pay her tribute to the flood."

In the Democratic Convention which assembled at Nashville, on the 11th of February last, General Carroll, that gallant and accomplished officer who was second in command at the battle of New Orleans, and who was familiar with the events of the war, reviewed, in a public speech, the military life and pretensions of General Harrison, and declared "that while wearing the epaulettes of a General in seasons of actual service, General Harrison was time after time guilty of conduct in his official capacity that ought to disgrace a subaltern."

General Carroll commenced with the Battle of Tippecanoe, and proved, by Harrison's own official letters to the War Department, that he encamped on ground selected for him by his enemy, and which Harrison acknowledged was unsuitable, and around which he neglected to throw up even a temporary retrenchment to protect his men from the savage foe. That he had no picket guard, and no common camp; and was literally surprised and circumvented by the enemy, and cut off from the possibility of retreat.

That General Harrison commanded the forces that fought the Battle of the Thames, is true. But no history records his achievements there. He sent his distinguished subaltern, Colonel Johnson, to fight the battle for him. The scars of that gallant officer bear testimony to the fidelity and bravery with which he obeyed the order of his commanding general.

When the public enemy appeared in the vicinity of Sandusky, General Harrison ordered the lion-hearted Croghan to blow up Fort Stephenson, and retire. The Colonel, at the hazard of his own fame, disobeyed the order, repelled the enemy by one of the most

gallant struggles to be found in the history of American armies, covered the General with shame, and received the applauses of the whole country.

In 1816 a resolution was submitted to the Senate of the United States, to vote a medal and thanks to Governor Shelby and General Harrison, for their services in the war. On motion, the name of General William Henry Harrison was stricken from the resolution by the Senate. It is true, the Senate, that the name of General Harrison might be retained, did afterwards, by a majority of one vote, recommit the resolution to the committee which brought it forward. But the yeas and nays, and proceedings of the day fully show, that there were members enough absent from their seats, when the resolution was recommitted, and who voted to strike out the name of General Harrison, to have defeated this reluctant compliment to the General. But even if it were not so, the resolution thus recommitted was permitted to expire in the committee room, and was never revived during that session of Congress. It is impossible to conclude, therefore, that any thing short of a conviction that General Harrison's reputation, as a military commander, could not receive the applause of that enlightened Senate, dispirited his friends, and prevented them from pursuing the application for a medal and thanks.

The Journal shows that General Armistead T. Mason, a generous spirit, the pride and bantling of his own native Virginia—who bore a name that envy cannot but call fair—who lived and died a gallant man, voted against all national honors to General Harrison. General Andrew Jackson, too, who succeeded Harrison in the command of the army, and who still lives as the exemplar of soldierly honor and patriotic deeds, and who retains an intimate knowledge of every character who figured on the theatre of war, never approved this medalic glorification of General Harrison.

In a letter which General Harrison wrote on the 16th July, 1816, he pathetically laments the remediless mischief to his name which a failure to obtain the medal had produced. In that letter, he says, "A vote of the Senate of the United States has attached to my name a disgrace which, I am convinced no time or efforts of mine will ever be able to efface. This censure is, indeed, negative, but is not,

on that account, the less severe.” Yet, in 1818 General Harrison's patrons, appealing to the public sympathy, coaxed from the credulous generosity of the Senate that faint, reluctant, dubious honor, then become necessary to save the General from disgrace and ruin. The Journal of the Senate gives the following account of the General's persevering efforts to obtain the medal :

“ IN SENATE OF THE U. S.,

Saturday, April 13, 1816.

Agreeably to the order of the day, the Senate resumed, as in Committee of the Whole, the consideration of the joint resolution, directing medals to be struck, and, together with the thanks of Congress, presented to Major General Harrison and Governor Shelby, and for other purposes.

Mr. Van Buren was requested to take the Chair.

On motion by Mr. Lacock,

To amend the resolution by striking out therefrom, “ Major General Harrison,”

It was determined in the affirmative—yeas 13, nays 11.

On motion,

The yeas and nays being desired by one-fifth of the members present, those who voted in the affirmative are,

Messrs. Dana, Gaillard, Gore, Hunter, King, Lacock, Mason, of N. H., Roberts, Tait, Thompson, Tickenor, Turner, Varnum.

Those who voted in the negative are,

Messrs. Barbour, Barry, Condit, Horsey, Macon, Morrow, Rugles, Talbot, Wells, Williams, Wilson.

The resolution having been amended,

On motion by Mr. Roberts,

Ordered, That the further consideration thereof be postponed until Monday next.

Saturday, April 20th, 1816.

The Senate resumed, as in Committee of the Whole, the consideration of the resolution directing medals to be struck, and, together with the thanks of Congress, presented to Major General Harrison and Governor Shelby, and for other purposes.

Mr. Varnum was requested to take the Chair; and, the resolution having been amended, the President resumed the Chair, and Mr. Varnum reported accordingly.

On the question to concur in the amendment, agreed to as in Committee of the Whole, to strike out "Major General William Henry Harrison,"

It was determined in the negative—yeas 13, nays 14.

On motion by Mr. Varnum, the yeas and nays being desired by one-fifth of the Senators present, those who voted in the affirmative are,

Messrs. Campbell, Daggett, Gaillard, Gore, King, Lacock, Mason, of N. H., Mason, of Va., Roberts, Tait, Tickenor, Turner, Varnum.

Those who voted in the negative are,

Messrs. Barbour, Barry, Chase, Condit, Harper, Horsey, Macon, Morrow, Ruggles, Sanford, Talbot, Wells, Williams, Wilson.

On motion of Mr. Horsey,

Ordered, That the resolution be recommitted to the Committee on Military Affairs, further to consider and report thereon.

IN SENATE, *March 24th*, 1818.

Agreeably to notice given, Mr. Dickerson asked and obtained leave to bring in a resolution directing medals to be struck, and, together with the thanks of Congress, presented to Major General Harrison and Governor Shelby, and for other purposes; and the resolution was read.

Ordered, That it pass to a second reading.

IN SENATE OF THE U. S.,

Friday, March 27, 1818.

The Senate resumed, as in Committee of the Whole, the consideration of the resolution directing medals to be struck, and, together with the thanks of Congress, presented to Major General Harrison and Governor Shelby, and for other purposes; and the resolution having been amended, the President reported it to the House accordingly; and the amendment being concurred in on the question, "Shall this resolution be engrossed, and read a third time?"

It was determined in the affirmative.

Monday, March 18, 1818.

The resolution directing medals to be struck, and, together with the thanks of Congress, presented to Major General Harrison and Governor Shelby, and for other purposes, having been reported by the committee, correctly engrossed, was read a third time.

Resolved, 'That the resolution pass.'

No sooner had General Harrison coaxed the Senate to save him from disgrace and ruin, than he joined the Federalists in the House of Representatives in their violent and gratuitous censure of General Jackson's military conduct in the Seminole war, and voted for the resolution disapproving the proceedings on the trial and execution of Alexander Arbuthnot and Robert C. Ambrister; and declaring the seizure of the Spanish Ports of Pensacola and St. Carlos de Barancos, by the American Army, to be contrary to the constitution of the United States.

The feelings which should always actuate a gallant man, who had himself suffered under a supposed neglect of his military reputation, are widely different from those which governed General Harrison towards his successor in arms. The "*haud ignarus mali, miseris succurrere disco*," was forgot in the unworthy recollection of the "*odium in longum jacens*."

But Congress and the nation, and the British authorities remembered and approved the conduct of General Jackson, and sheltered the fame of that gallant and patriotic man from the bodings of that pitiless storm which folly and injustice, hatred and malignity had raised around him.

I will not dwell upon the rebuke so justly bestowed upon Gen. Harrison when, in open war, and under the expectation of a battle at Tippecanoe, he encamped upon a ground which the public enemy advised him to take; and which enabled the savage foe, at break of morn, on the very next day, to surprise and slaughter our gallant men; because it is unnecessary further to examine and expose the unfounded and idle pretensions of General Harrison to martial renown. Partial biographers may manufacture materials for partizan orators and mercenary scribblers to blazon his military career. The living and recorded evidence refutes them all.

But if his warlike qualities can furnish the General no rational

passport to the Presidential office, what are the civil pretensions that should carry him there?

His warmest supporters dare not assert for so impotent a character any superiority of wisdom and abilities; any tolerable qualifications for such an important public trust. He has long passed that golden period of human life which is least affected with the follies of youth, and the infirmities of age. His mental horizon—never spacious or clear—is now contracted to a melancholy span. And for that poor remnant of mortality yet to come, he can only hope to serve as a passive instrument with which the master spirits who flatter and cajole him calculate to consummate and to empass all the wild mischievous designs of the old federal party.

The hydra of the federal dynasty, which has hitherto cowered before the indignant frowns of the multitude, rises now with keener vengeance in his fang, and aims to strike contagious poison into the vitals of the constitution. To cover this appalling purpose from the public view, General Harrison has been coaxed into the expression of the most inconsistent and irreconcilable opinions.

In a letter which he wrote to the editor of the Cincinnati Inquirer, and which was published there in September 1822, he makes professions of republican principles which are directly repugnant to the acts, declarations and sentiments of the General on other occasions, both before and since the letter was written. In that letter he says, “I am myself a republican of what is called the old Jeffersonian school.”

In his reply to Mr. Randolph he admitted that he was the friend of old John Adams, and other supporters of his administration. In the letter he says, “I believe in the correctness of that interpretation of the constitution which have been given by the writings of that enlightened statesman, Mr. Jefferson, who was at the head of the party, and others belonging to it, particularly the celebrated resolutions of the Virginia Legislature during the presidency of Mr. Adams.”

In his Cheviot speech, to which I have referred, and in which he cordially supports the principles of the Proclamation and Force Bill, he says, “constituted as is the government of the Union, it

appears to me that there is not the least danger of encroaching on the rights of the States; that "*the right of State interposition strikes at the very foundation of the legislative powers of Congress*"; and that "it is undeniably true, that the framers of the constitution intended to create *a national judicial power, which should be paramount on national subjects.*"

These sentiments are directly *against* the celebrated resolutions for which the General professed a regard.

In 1818 General Harrison, then a member of the House of Representatives, voted for resolutions claiming in various forms the power for Congress to make roads and canals within the limits of the respective States; and especially for the resolution declaring that "Congress has power under the constitution to appropriate money for the construction of post roads, military and other roads, and of canals, and for the improvement of water courses."

In 1826, as a Senator from Ohio, he voted for a survey between the Apalachicola and Mississippi rivers, with a view to establish an inland navigation. This appropriation was opposed by Messrs. Macon, Randolph, Berrien, Hayne, Branch, Van Buren and White.

In March and April, 1826, he repeatedly voted for similar appropriations; and I believe the assertion may be safely made, that no proposition for internal improvement was ever presented to either house of Congress, whilst General Harrison was a representative, which did not receive his cordial approbation and support.

In 1827, while in the Senate of the United States, he voted against the reduction of the duty on coffee, from five to three per cent. and against the reduction of the duties on teas. And such was his persevering determination to fasten on the country the policy of a high tariff, for the encouragement of domestic manufactures, that in an address delivered before the agricultural society of Hamilton county, in 1831, he said:

"It may be asked, whether under *any* circumstances I would be willing to abandon the Tariff. I answer without hesitation in the affirmative. *Whenever the streets of Norfolk and Charleston shall be covered with grass, and our Southern friends find no market for their produce—and this state of things can be directly traced*

to the Tariff—I would then instantly give my voice for its modification or entire repeal.”

Here, then, is a venerable gentleman in decay, stimulated by the hope of advancement to the Presidency, continually manifesting the grossest departure of practice from profession—of admiration, first for Mr. Adams and then for Mr. Jefferson—of a preference for the immortal resolutions of the Virginia Assembly, and a persevering disposition to destroy every salutary principle which these resolutions were plainly intended to assert and to preserve.

The opinions of General Harrison on the domestic relations of master and slave, and the powers of the General Government in relation to that important subject are, in my opinion, equally confused, inconsistent and unsatisfactory.

The various propositions made by General Harrison, both in Congress and in the Senate of Ohio, in the year 1819 and 1820, comprise and illustrate his opinions on the subject of slavery, in the most solemn and authentic form. At each of those periods the State of Missouri was part of the territories of the United States, asking admission into the Union. The question of Federal power over the subject was, in the judgment of the General, settled by an amendment which he offered in Congress, on the 19th February 1819, after that question had been fully discussed on principle alone. That amendment was offered to the amendment proposed by Mr. Taylor of New York, to the Missouri Bill, then before the House of Representatives, and reads—“All that part of the present Territory of Missouri, lying north of a line to be run due west from the mouth of the river De Moines, to the territorial boundary of the United States, shall form a part of the Territory of Michigan; and the laws in force in the said Territory, as well as the ordinances of Congress, prohibiting slavery or involuntary servitude in the said Territory of Michigan, shall be in force in that part of the Missouri, lying north of said east and west line.”

This amendment conceded the whole question of constitutional power. Mr. Philip P. Barbour opposed this amendment of General Harrison, and argued against all amendments of a similar character, as partial, inexpedient, and unconstitutional; that if the principle was wrong in itself, it ought not to be withheld from one part

of the Territory and applied to another; and that if the rule was wrong at the thirty-fifth degree of latitude, it was equally so at the fortieth.

General Harrison's preamble and resolutions, offered in the Senate of Ohio on the 3d January, 1820, show the extent to which he would have used the power of the Government, through his Senators and Representatives in Congress, to repress, as he styled it, "a great moral and political evil, which sullied our national character, and materially affected our national happiness." He asserted "that the admission of slavery in the new State of Missouri, was fraught with the most fearful consequences to the permanency and durability of our Republican institutions," and invoked "the utmost exertions and the use of every means to avert it."

The wild and furious tornado which this question engendered pervaded the Union, and shook the empire State where, in obedience to the public will, the most eminent men were forced to give it smoothness, rather than open opposition.

Still the debates in the New York Assembly will show that the Administration party then endeavored to avoid that portentous storm which, for political effect, was fed and invigorated by the Federal party. During that protracted excitement Mr. Van Buren, then in the Senate of his native State, gave a silent vote for the Missouri resolution, which passed that body on the 29th of January 1820. In doing this, I cannot doubt that he was governed by the settled and general will of the people whose representative he was. If any evidence exists that he supported the measure with activity, it has never been produced to the public in any shape.

His support of the election of Rufus King to the Senate has been often referred to, and relied on by his enemies to prove that Mr. Van Buren was a Missouri restrictionist of the most decided and dangerous character.

But his support of Mr. King had no connexion with the question of slavery. It was given from necessity, approved by the Administration party, whose leading organ in Washington advised it, and was intended to defeat the election of J. D. Spencer, who had been the Speaker of the Assembly, and was the candidate of the Clintonian party.

Let the New York resolution of the 29th January 1820, for which Mr. Van Buren silently voted, be compared with the one which, on the 3d day of the same month and year, General Harrison penned and offered to the Senate of Ohio, and supported with all his energies; let the conduct of these two public characters, in relation to slavery, be weighed in impartial scales, and the award of truth and justice be fairly made.

The Abolitionists and their coadjutors oppose the President, because they can neither seduce nor drive him into their wild, unhallowed schemes against the peace of the Union. He has declared it to be his clear and settled opinion, that it is the sacred duty of those who are intrusted with the action of the General Government to use their constitutional powers to prevent any interference by Congress with the exciting relations of master and slave. No language can be more explicit than his. He stands pledged as the *inflexible, uncompromising opponent* of any attempt on the part of Congress to abolish slavery. He denies that Congress has the shadow of such a power over the States; and so solemn is his conviction of duty, so deep his sense of the injustice that would be done to the slaveholding States, so fully satisfied is he that "it would inevitably occasion the dissolution of our happy Union," that he declares the exercise of such a power, even in the District of Columbia, forbidden by "objections, imperative in their nature and obligations" as any which the Constitution contains. None can doubt, then, that it is the fixed, deliberate purpose of the President to use the constitutional powers of his high office to discourage the slightest action of Congress on this delicate subject; and, if the occasion should arise, to put his veto upon it.

If in the public service General Harrison sacrificed his personal and political interests, there is an obligation on the country to remunerate him. But Presidential honors would, under any circumstances, be beyond his deserts. Let however, recorded and unquestioned facts settle his pretensions to the gratitude of his countrymen, for his alleged care of those principles which protect the South in the enjoyment of her constitutional rights.

I have stated the agency he had, and the part that he acted in Congress and in the Senate of Ohio. He exchanged a service in

the Federal, for one in the State Legislature. And from the latter, he went again into the former, after the Missouri excitement had subsided under the Compromise Act.

On the great question of Slavery, which has agitated the southern mind, the sentiments of Ohio were almost unanimous. And her final vote in Congress, on the Missouri Bill, was marked with unanimity.

When General Harrison became a candidate for Congress, and was defeated by Mr. Gazley, new questions vexed the public mind. The Legislature of Tennessee had nominated the Hero of New Orleans for the Presidency. General Harrison warmly opposed that nomination, and Mr. Gazley as warmly supported it. And then, as now, the Presidential question absorbed all minor ones.

That the Presidential contest defeated General Harrison, and not a pretended sacrifice of himself for Southern rights, is manifested by the fact that he retained his popularity, and speedily returned to the Senate of the United States where, by his open action and recorded votes, he steadily invaded all Southern rights, until he voluntarily quitted the Senate in 1828, for the lucrative mission to Bogota, which he received from President J. Q. Adams, his generous, political, and private friend. In 1800, the elder Adams appointed General Harrison Governor of Indiana.

The coalition has been solemnly formed against Southern rights. And General Harrison is selected as the fittest Chief to lead on the embattled hosts. No candid, well-informed person can deny that it is the settled expectation and desire of the General to attract to his political support the fanatics and Abolitionists. And he practices the cunning diplomacy of his supporters, and relies on the dubious character of his former opinions to obtain their aid without offence to the South.

Why the studied reserve that governs the General now?—this unwonted, premeditated concealment of his present opinions on a question of such vital importance to the national repose? Is it the fear of offence to the Abolitionists who surround him, and who now openly oppose the Administration party? I am constrained to believe that it is.

The fate of his unsuccessful rival, Mr. Clay, plainly informed the General that a majority of those who oppose the Administration will support no man for the Presidency who discountenances the designs of the Abolitionists.

No sooner had Mr. Clay, in the winter of 1839, delivered in the Senate his speech against that fanatical clique, than this ominous revelation was promulgated to the world ; “ the efforts of Mr. Van Buren to conciliate, by bowing to the spirit of Slavery, the vote of the South, has been met by the speech of Mr. Clay, delivered in the United States Senate since the presentation of the Abolition report. In this speech, Mr. Clay denounces the Abolitionists in severe terms ; brings forward, in his peculiar and forcible language, the stereotyped objections against the Anti-Slavery movement ; lays down the monstrous principle, that “ *That is property which the law makes property ;*” and, upon the ground of necessity, the tyrant’s plea, defends the eternal enslavement of the colored race in our land. On sitting down, after this effort for the perpetration of a system of outrage and wrong, the most inexcusable, as well as most detestable that the sun has yet shone upon, Mr. Clay received the congratulations of the arch-nullifier of the “ most glorious institution,” John C. Calhoun, for having given the death-blow to Abolition. If judgment is not turned backward, the blow will be death *to his own prospects of winning the splendid prize at which he is aiming ;* and to secure which, he has, in his pro-slavery effort, fixed an indellible stigma on his own reputation.”

The late results at Harrisburg show how solemn, persevering, and successful were the efforts to make this prophecy true. The pride and bantling of the great National Whig party—the indefatigable Champion of the “ American System”—the celebrated Chieftain who had given the greatest concentrated force and direction to the discordant elements which compose the army of modern Whigs, is now unceremoniously superseded by a superannuated idol—a mere subaltern in every qualification to command the public admiration.

In “ The Philanthropist,” an Abolition paper published in Cincinnati, on the 14th of February last, there is this significant Address :

“ *To the Public.* ”

“ FELLOW-CITIZENS: Being suddenly called home to attend to my sick family, I have but a moment to answer a few of the calumnies which are in circulation concerning me.

“ I am accused of being friendly to Slavery. From my earliest youth to the present moment, I have been the ardent friend of human liberty. At the age of eighteen, *I became a member of an Abolition Society*, established at Richmond, the object of which was to ameliorate the condition of Slavery, and procure their freedom by every legal means. My venerable friend, Judge Gatch, of Clermont county, was also a member of this Society, and has lately given me a certificate that I was one. *The obligations I then came under, I have faithfully performed.*

“ WILLIAM HENRY HARRISON.”

The “ *Philanthropist* ” is a paper in the interest of General Harrison. And shortly after the appearance of the General’s address, the Editor penned an elaborate article upon it, summed up all that the General had expressed on the subject of Slavery, and denied, as if by authority, that Harrison had ever labored to introduce Slavery into Indiana, while Governor of that Territory. And while the Editor relies on the Address as a favorable exposition of the General’s decisive opinions on the subject of Slavery, he boldly denounces President Van Buren for the repeated expression of opinions which make him wholly unworthy of any support from the Abolition party.

In a subsequent expose, to be found in the *Philanthropist* of the 3d instant, the Editor asserts that “ the Administration party in the West has racked its ingenuity to discover new modes of manifesting its subjection to the South, and hatred of Abolition. The present Legislature of Ohio (now democratic) has outstript all its predecessors in this disgraceful policy. Every thing which envenomed malice could suggest, or limited capacity compass, has been done to convince Abolitionists that they have no longer any thing to hope from the Democratic party.”

This Abolition hatred of the Democratic party equally pervades the North. In the fourteenth number of the “ *Examiner*,” an Abo-

tion periodical, published in New York on the 13th of last month, by the Anti-Slavery Society, of which Arthur Tappan is the head, you will find, in large prominent letters, the names of the twenty-eight members of the House of Representatives, who voted for the following resolution, lately offered to the House by Mr. William Cost Johnson, of Maryland, and which was adopted by a majority of only six.

“*Resolved*, That the following be added to the standing rules of this House :

“ No petition, memorial, or resolution, or other paper, praying the abolition of Slavery in the District of Columbia, or any State or Territory, or the Slave Trade between the States or Territories of the United States, in which it now exists, shall be received by the House, or entertained in any manner whatever.”

Those were the only members from the free States who voted for the resolution ; and out of the 28, Mr. Proffit, of Indiana, was the *only Whig*. Every Northern Whig, with the exception of one, voted *against* it. The Examiner, after a shower of malignant invectives on the resolution, hearty congratulations on the progress which abolitionism has made, and the glorious prospect of emancipating the slaves, urges the people to dismiss from their service those 28 northern auxiliaries to Southern slave holders.

Under the terrors of this ominous threat, notice, that a motion will be made *to rescind this rule*, has already been given in the House by the Hon. Francis Granger, of New York,—the same worthy gentleman whom the National Whig party so lately and cordially supported as Vice President of the United States, and whom they placed on the same ticket with General William Henry Harrison.

I would impress on the attention of my fellow citizens the unanswerable speech which Mr. Bynum delivered in the House of Representatives in January last, on the subject of abolition. He proves by the votes, by the records and proceedings of Congress, and the various State Legislatures, by evidence which he produced, and which could not deceive, that the countenance which abolitionists and emancipationists have received from the representatives of the people in the Congress of the United States and elsewhere,

has been afforded by the Whigs. He proves, too, by the published proceedings and resolutions of the people in the North, East and West, that the abolitionists are ceaseless and persevering, and have determined to oppose the steady and consistent friends of our republican administration.

Wherever in the West, the East, or the North, the democrats have had the direction of public affairs, they have expressed public and decided opinions against the right of the General Government to interfere in the domestic relations of master and slave.

In the State of Ohio, now truly democratic, and represented in the national councils with decided ability, the great Democratic Convention assembled in January last, from all quarters of the Commonwealth, passed the following resolutions:

“Resolved, That slavery being a domestic institution, recognised by the constitution of the United States, we, as citizens of a free State, have no right to interfere with it, and that the organizing of societies and associations in free States, in opposition to the institutions of sister States, while productive of no good, may be the cause of much mischief, and while such associations for political purposes ought to be discountenanced by every lover of peace and concord, no sound democrat will have part or lot with them.

“Resolved, That political Abolitionism is but ancient federalism under a new guise, and that the political action of Anti-slavery Societies is only a device for the overthrow of Democracy.

“Resolved, That should there be any members of this Convention who do not subscribe to the principles contained in those resolutions relating to the subject of Abolition, they be hereby requested to leave their names with the publishing committee, to be published with the proceedings of this Convention.”

On the subject of the above resolutions, the democrats were unanimous. And in their Legislature, a cordial response was given, as the subjoined proceedings will show.

“OHIO LEGISLATURE.

[Reported for the Ohio Statesmen.]

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Tuesday, January 11, 1840.

“On motion of Mr. Flood, the House took up the resolutions relative to the subject of slavery.

“Mr. Waddle called for the question to be taken on each resolution separately.

“The first resolution was then adopted—yeas 48, nays 2, which reads as follows :

“*Resolved by the General Assembly of the State of Ohio, That the subject of slavery, as it exists in particular portions of the United States, was settled and adjusted at the formation of the Federal Constitution.*

“The question then being on the adoption of the second resolution, which is as follows :

“*Resolved. That, in the opinion of this General Assembly, the interference of citizens of our State in the internal regulations of another, is highly censurable and improper, and that we view the unlawful, unwise and unconstitutional interference of the fanatical Abolitionists of the North with the domestic institutions of the Southern States, as highly criminal, and that it is the duty, obligatory on all good citizens, to discountenance the Abolitionists in their mad, fanatical and revolutionary scheme.*”

The Democratic Legislature of New Hampshire did, as early as 13th January 1837, pass solemn resolutions declaring “that Congress cannot, without a violation of the public faith, abolish slavery in the District of Columbia, unless upon the request of the citizens of that District, and by the States by whom that territory was ceded to the General Government. And that the Union of the States can only be maintained by abstaining from all interference with the laws, domestic policy and peculiar institutions of every other State.”

We have lately seen that in the lower House of Assembly in New York, when the Whigs and Abolitionists had the control, they passed violent denunciations against the resolution of Mr. Atherton, which was adopted by a large majority of the House of Representatives, and which resolution of Mr. Atherton was practically the same as the one offered lately by Mr. Wm. Cost Johnson, to which I have referred.

That in the Senate of New York, when the Democrats had the control, the denunciatory resolutions of the lower House were rebuked and voted down in the following manner :

“Resolved, That the preamble and resolutions of the Assembly be and are hereby rejected.” And they were rejected entirely by the democratic vote.

Every where the Abolitionists interrogate even their gubernatorial candidates for the popular favor; and demand their written opinions on the subject of slavery.

In a late number of the *“Liberator,”* written by Garrison, of Massachusetts, he says, “Edward Everett, the Governor of the Commonwealth, has answered unequivocally in the affirmative to the question, whether he is in favor of the immediate abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia, and the slave trade between the several States. Edward Everett now speaks the language of a patriot, a republican and a christian. We believe it is the real language of his soul. And in the same number of that paper, there is an extract from a letter written by “a member of the Massachusetts Anti-slavery Board,” in which the writer, alluding to his Excellency’s reply, says, “Governor Everett’s letter is satisfactory.”

In the Whig State of Vermont the Legislature did, on the 21st of January, 1839, pass first, a resolution to instruct their Senators and to request their Representatives, to use their utmost efforts to procure the abolition of slavery and the slave trade in the District of Columbia, and the slave trade between the several States, and the territories of the Union? And 2dly, a resolution, condemning in the most violent manner the course which the Administration party pursued in the House of Representatives, upon the subject of abolition petitions.

The Whigs and Abolitionists have lately united and elected as Lieutenant Governor of New York, Mr. Brady, a celebrated and notorious Abolitionist.

And the Abolitionists of New York have lately embodied as a political party, and issued a “Circular to the Anti-slavery electors of the State of New York;” in which they embody bitter resolutions against the democratic party, assign the reasons for their determination to oppose Marcy, and support Seward, as Governor of the State. In their fifth resolution, they declare “that the re-election of Governor Marcy would go very far toward the re-election

of *Martin Van Buren*, whose measures and policy are hostile to the cause of human liberty.”

“We view the great question of Sub-Treasury, a National Bank, or the currency, of minor importance, compared with the great subject of human liberty; and believing that the election of Mr. Seward, and the defeat of Governor Marcy, *will best promote the great cause of universal emancipation*, we shall vote for him ourselves, and recommend our Abolition friends to do the same.”

The people of Virginia, and the entire South, continually assert that the question of abolition is that which above all others, most affects their vital rights and interests—their property, their honor, and their lives. All other subjects are subordinate to this great pervading interest. The alliance of Federalism and Abolitionism is now, I think, settled beyond all dispute or doubt.

These congenial spirits have boldly united in the nomination of Harrison, and stand pledged to elevate him, if they can, to the Presidency of the United States. In this determination they are one, identical and indivisible. They have proclaimed hostilities against the democratic party, and hail with enthusiastic joy the anticipated triumph of their superannuated Chief.

In his success, the Abolition augury will be sure, “that hereafter no slave-holder, or inhabitant of a slave State, shall ever be President of the United States.”

In this conjuncture of affairs, it is but an obvious dictate of prudence and patriotism that the entire section of the country whose vital interests are threatened and assailed, should rally in concerted opposition to the union of factions so mischievous and wicked. And it is hardly credible that any portion of the people, from the quarter assailed, can longer contribute to support it.

Talk who will about Missouri restriction in former days, the fact is notorious—no Abolitionist or Emancipationist supports the President of the United States. Every conductor of their papers, journals, periodicals and presses—every organ which communicates the fanatical spirit of the age—is against him. And when the forest trees stoop their tall and stubborn heads, the direction of the storm must be obvious to all.

The charge against Mr. Van Buren, that he encourages extrava-

gant appropriations for internal improvements by the General Government, is so wilfully disingenuous, deceitful and false, that nothing but the most impudent and conscious mendacity could parade it before the public mind.

On the 19th of December, 1825, Mr. Van Buren offered a resolution to the Senate of the United States, declaring "that Congress does not possess the power to make roads and canals within the respective States." And in the following May, he voted against the Dismal Swamp Canal Bill, because "he did not believe that the General Government possessed the constitutional power to make such canals, or to grant money to make them."

In his able and explicit letter of October, 1832, to the North Carolina Committee, at Shocco Springs, he expressed the opinion that the general and true interests of the country would be best consulted by withholding appropriations for internal improvements, until some constitutional regulation upon the subject should be provided.

It is true, he once voted for a bill to authorize tolls on the Cumberland road, a public work projected under the administration of Mr. Jefferson. But it is believed that the constitutional powers connected with that road were never discussed nor suggested, until President Monroe vetoed the bill. And in the Senatorial debate on Foote's resolution to authorize the Vice President to call to order for words spoken in the Senate, Mr. Van Buren alluded to his vote on the Cumberland Road Bill, and declared that it was the only vote he had ever given in the Senate, which could be tortured into a departure from the principles he professed to entertain; that he deeply regretted the vote; that if such a question were presented to him again, he should vote against it; and he applauded President Monroe for putting his veto on that bill. His annual Message to the present Congress may be regarded as proving the sincerity of these views; the free expression of which, has subjected him to the violent censure of the Whigs, who claim for Congress the constitutional authority to appropriate the federal revenue to objects of this kind.

On the 14th of February last, Mr. Barnard, of New York, one of the most talented and distinguished Whigs in the House of Representatives, declared that "the great interest of internal improvement

by the General Government, was placed in jeopardy by the attitude the President had assumed towards it. Here, in my place, and on my responsibility as a member of this House, *I charge that the President of the United States has now assumed an attitude of distinct and avowed hostility to the policy of making further appropriations, at least for the present, for internal improvements, for roads, harbors, and rivers, even in the case of works already undertaken and only partly executed; and I shall shortly refer to the proofs of the fact.* I make this charge not, certainly, in the way of reproach, since the President has acted in the matter in the discharge of his constitutional duty as the official adviser of this House, and, as I am bound to suppose, according to his conviction of right, and duty; but I speak of the matter of fact, as I understand it to be, and as I shall now show it to be—a matter beyond doubt and controversy.” Mr. Barnard, having exhibited his evidence in support of the charge, thus gravely made against the President, continued, “Certainly nobody can doubt, who looks carefully into those papers, that it is the *settled policy of the President, in which he is supported by his two Secretaries, that no appropriation whatever ought to be made, the present year at least, for works of internal improvement. The President insists, in the strongest terms, on the duty of Congress to keep the appropriations within the estimates presented, and, of course, he insists that nothing shall be appropriated for works of internal improvement.* He thinks that both the Executive and the Legislature, should be held to a strict accountability, if any thing of the sort shall be permitted; and he intimates, in case the attempt shall be made by Congress, that it will be mere forbearance on his part, if he do not interpose the authority of his veto to prevent it.”

And yet with all these wholesome opinions of Mr. Van Buren—opinions recorded in history, and backed and fortified by the recent declarations and testimony of eminent Whigs in the House of Representatives—the stale and senseless accusation is continually repeated, that the President countenances internal improvements in the most unconstitutional and hateful forms.

The good we derive from the services of our fellow citizens is not always remembered with becoming gratitude and wisdom;

while we often perceive, remember, and exaggerate, the errors and imperfections inseparable from the frail nature of man. Hence the disposition of many to listen to whomsoever will assert that our misfortunes and embarrassments are not the casualties of our mortal and imperfect lot, nor the necessary evils of our own procuring, but that some grim idol of the popular choice; some sinister disturber of the public repose; some reckless and ferocious tyrant in the happiness of Presidential authority, has poisoned the sources of our national felicity, and dissipated our golden dreams.

How boldly this most convenient topic of political denunciation has been handled against the President of the Union must be obvious to all who read the unmeasured vituperation that is continually lavished on that mild, able, dignified, and upright man. Yet, to calculate that the Government of the United States shall be able, at all times, to preserve entire order in the Union; to maintain our peaceful relations throughout the world; to anticipate and to prevent every abuse of trust and authority among the public servants; to regulate foreign commerce and internal trade; to avert that rebound which is naturally calculated to crush the heedless adventurer of cupidity and speculation; to limit the national expenditures to a sphere and magnitude which the immediate representatives of the people may think proper to disregard; and to minister to the pecuniary appetites of all who crave money, and urge the Government to supply it, is to expect from a mere human institution what theocracy itself might be puzzled to accomplish.

But I cherish the cordial hope and expectation that a fair, candid, and dispassionate estimate of the Presidential services of Mr. Van Buren will result in the general conviction that the wisdom of his administration has fully vindicated the choice of the Nation who made him what he is—the First Magistrate of a great and free people.

That modern Whigs should revile and depreciate the present Chief Magistrate of their Country, was the natural, expected consequence of the only obvious principle that holds together such an anomalous mixture of public men—the principle of raising themselves into power and place. It is only on that potent and pervading principle of political tactics, that we are enabled to account for the

alternate defamation and applause which the Whigs have continually lavished on the various characters that have appeared above the political horizon of this Country, and on whom the public scrutiny has been fixed intently, to detract or praise. The truth of this imputed alternation from hatred to love—from obloquy to praise, a few memorable examples may suffice to show.

Just before Mr. Leigh was nominated for the Presidential office, the leading organ of the Whigs pronounced him to be a century behind the age. Yet but a little while after, the very same organ supported Mr. Leigh for the Presidency of the United States! He whose political opinions were publicly ridiculed for their antiquity and inaptitude to modern times, was, by the mighty magic of Whiggery, suddenly endowed with all the fresh and wholesome lights in the science and principles of political economy, and fitted to grace the first station in the councils of the Union.

Judge White, of Tennessee, was also roundly and heedlessly denounced by the same party, as the degraded vassal of President Jackson, the vile register of executive decrees. Yet, so soon as Judge White aspired to the Presidency, in direct opposition to the general wishes of the Administration party, and ruined his fortunes as a public man, all the vassalage of the Judge quickly expired in the prodigal admiration of innumerable Whigs. He became, indeed, a hero then! And every conceivable effort was freely made to raise him to the Presidential trust. I pass over the cases of Floyd, Tazewell, and many more around whom such shadows and lights have capriciously played, to make way for the most memorable instance that the history of politics discloses to the world. You perceive that I am about to usher in the name of a man who gained my confidence and admiration—I mean Mr. William C. Rives. This distinguished favorite of fortune was reared in an atmosphere fragrant with the glory of Jefferson. And social proximity to that apostle of liberty enabled Mr. Rives to feed the taper of his aspiring mind with the redundant and wholesome light of Monticello. The lustre reflected upon him from an orb so brilliant and pure presaged his future course, and made him conspicuous to the advocates of freedom. In his own native Virginia—a State not barren in wisdom and worth—no man of the age has been more freely honored with

political preferment and applause. His seat in the House of Delegates was quickly abandoned for a more distinguished one in the House of Representatives. A mission abroad, and Senatorial honors at home, came thickening on him from the spontaneous generosity of his triumphant party. Stimulated by the ties of gratitude and the convictions of a considerate mind, he not only contributed to overthrow the administration of John Q. Adams, but advocated, with ability and zeal, the leading measures which brought down upon President Jackson the rancorous hatred of the Whigs. The memorable Expunge, intended, as was alleged by the Whigs, to fix upon them that burning shame they had offered to the laurels of the President, was assisted through the Senate by the parliamentary abilities of Mr. Rives. The Whiggish denunciation against him, which, before, had been continual and bitter, was as the cheering voice of praise when compared to the ferocity of its character then. Language is incompetent to describe it. No violated confidence—no betrayal of trust—no measure of ingratitude to the cordial friends who reared the fortunes of Mr. Rives, could provoke from the democratic party the remorseless fury then manifested towards him by the Whigs.

Since then, the flushed and elated Whigs, backed and encouraged by the mighty contrivances of incorporated wealth, have reunited and embodied their hitherto discordant forces, and now constantly proclaim their ability and determination to crush the President and the Democratic party. To pamper this vain exultation, the Conservative leaders have made their appearance, and drawn their weapons in the ranks of the opposition. They professed to have mustered troops in defence of great constitutional principles; and for a season, stacked their arms upon neutral ground, and coldly eyed the battle field. But the leader of the Northern Conservatives, to secure a sway in his native land, soon went over to the enemy in bold and free defiance; and now, in the national Senate, wages a fierce, unnatural, relentless war, upon the political party with which he so lately and so cordially co-operated.

The commander of the Virginia Conservatives, more cool and wary, calculated with a circumspect mind the hazards of the enterprise, and felt and measured the ground on which he has determi-

ned to move. But he, too, has lately doffed his neutrality—left his former generous and confiding friends—and crossed the Rubicon of party strife.

The exulting enemy applauded the act, received him with delight, and freely forgave his previous sins. Nay, in the overflowings of ecstatic joy, they have labored with the most persevering assiduity to return him to the national Senate, where he plunged a dagger in their precious fame; and whose records, they assert, he had mutilated and defiled with the most cold, selfish, calculating, and deliberate baseness.

For this sudden, extraordinary support of Mr. Rives, the great organ of the Whig party in Virginia had no justifiable pretext, that I am aware of. The editor of the Whig, and the leader of the Conservatives, did not agree, even on the great financial question of the day. For, while Mr. Rives considered and denounced that measure as a curse to the national prosperity, Mr. Pleasants considered it the wisest and safest financial measure which Congress could then adopt. I do not undertake to quote his language, but to state, in substance, the views which he entertained upon that subject, and which he published to the world. The opposition of Mr. Rives to the Sub Treasury scheme, could not, therefore, have endeared him to the editor of the Whig. It should, in the ordinary course of human reasoning, have widened the breach between them. No; the ground boldly and openly assumed by the editor, for the support of Mr. Rives was, that with his assistance, the Whigs could carry the elections and get command of the government. This was the doctrine promulgated by the press, and echoed in the halls of the Legislature, by gentlemen of the Whig party, who claimed to represent the virtue, the principles and the patriotism of the Commonwealth of Virginia.

If gratitude be among the number of a gentleman's virtues, and the greatest benefactors deserve the warmest returns of gratitude, what benefactors can Mr. Rives compare with the early and devoted patrons who gave him whatever of power and distinction he has acquired.

Our country, too, whose ever grateful eyes his ripening worth so tenderly could see, that scarce she breathed an accent to the skies

but what was winged with benisons for him! Yet, instead of gratitude for this rare, delicate and generous appreciation, I am sorry to believe, one only feeling now, pervades his heart—feelings of unkindness, not to say hostility, towards the great body of his former political friends! the cordial and confiding friends, who placed him in the lead of his fellow men, cheered and sustained him in every strife, and aimed to raise him to the Presidential heighth.

And who gets the benefit of this painful and unnatural abandonment of his former friends? Why, politicians who have covered over Mr. Rives with every crime that can degrade humanity; politicians who but lately declared that “he had made his infamy universal and eternal;” politicians who have recorded that “the fiddling of a Nero—the cruelty of a Caligula—the cold blooded tyranny of a Tiberius, may be forgotten; the long catalogue of crime, which stands a memento of human depravity, may fade from the page of history, and vanish from the memory of man; but his bare support of the Expunge, untouched by the finger of time, shall remain to shame our nature, to the latest age. The men who, in the presence of an assembled nation, before their country and their God, wilfully and deliberately perjured themselves, and placed the perjury on record, need never expect to be forgiven. Charity may vainly essay to mitigate the infamy of their deed, but their names will never cease to be execrated, whilst virtue has a votary, or vice is to be deprecated.

“We,” (continues the same charitable organ of party strife) “sincerely wish that it were not counter to the order of Providence, that all the perpetrators of that dark tragedy on our country’s honor, might be cursed with an immortality here; that they might live on, while time holds its course, to hear, in their proper persons, the unmeasured and bitter execrations of every honest man, and on each returning day, be lashed naked through the world, with a whip of scorpions, from the rising to the setting sun.

“It is proper to say, in good time, and emphatically, that the Southern Whigs *cannot, and will not support an Expunger for any office whatever.*”

It is utterly hopeless, therefore, to expect that any policy or supporter of the Administration can satisfy a discordant, inconsistent

and voracious party, who labor under a political disability to be pleased with any thing that the Government can do; who employ in their service principles they condemn, and politicians they revile, and who mean to continue discontented with every statesman, with every man, and every measure, which may operate against the installation of themselves into power and place.

A few words upon another subject, which has engaged the public attention, and agitated the public mind during the present session of Congress, and I will close my communication.

When at the commencement of the present session, the five Whig members from the State of New Jersey presented to the House of Representatives the credentials of their Governor, importing that they were duly elected, I supported the pretensions of those members to the seats they claimed; because, I was unwilling to believe that the Chief Magistrate of a Sovereign State could so far forget his dignity, his duty, and his place, as to grant credentials not warranted by the laws, and the evidence before him.

But the Committee of Privileges and Elections have since produced to the House a Report which satisfies me, fully, that the five Democratic members whom the Governor excluded, by the credentials aforesaid, had received at the last Congressional elections in that State a majority of the lawful votes of New Jersey; and should have received the credentials which were given to their opponents. And I have now the satisfaction to inform you that this exciting question was settled on the 10th of this month, under the judgment of the House of Representatives, that the five Democratic members from that State were entitled to their seats.

All the pretexts under which the Chief Magistrate of New Jersey, for political effect, affixed his great seal to what I am reluctantly constrained to believe was a false record, have been fully refuted and condemned in the House, by a majority of thirty-one. And his Excellency stands convicted of, what I must be permitted to believe, was a bold, audacious attempt to defeat the elective franchise of his State, and to paralyze the public will of the whole nation, by returning to the House of Representatives a fraudulent majority against the measures and policy of the Administration.

And it is worthy of remark, that when the House was brought to vote upon the proposition to admit the five New Jersey members, who had until then been excluded, one of the opposition asked to be excused for not voting. Mr. Adams refused to vote, and several others who followed his lead, stood mute.

What Alexander Hamilton said of the elder Adams, may be safely asserted of his wayward son, "that he has certain fixed points of character, which tend naturally to the detriment of any cause of which he is the chief, and of any Administration of which he is the head ; and whose ill-humors and jealousies greatly distract the measures of the Government."

Mr. Van Buren, in a spirit of concession and compromise, favors, as you are aware, a judicious tariff ; such a tariff as shall reduce the public revenue to the just wants of the Government, and which, by its justice and moderation, shall protect the interests of the whole community.

I have already stated that he is against a United States Bank in any form : And that he is of opinion, that the subject of slavery is exclusively under the control of the State Governments : and that neither the Government, nor the people of any other State, than such as slavery exists in, can constitutionally disturb the relation of master and slave.

I deem it unnecessary to descant with a tedious prolixity on the general principles which directed the public course of Mr. Van Buren, previous to his election to the presidential office, because those principles have been detailed in a variety of forms ; recorded in the annals of the age ; and have been deliberately weighed and sanctioned by an impartial public.

As little effective will be the efforts of the opposition to convince the community that the Administration party have lately trampled on the sovereignty of the States, by expressing their opinion against the profligate, unconstitutional design, fondly and stealthily cherished, to induce Congress to assume and pay the enormous debts of the several States. This design is rather magnificent than novel. Alexander Hamilton tried it when he stood at the head of the Treasury. And the atrocity of his Assumption Act has been rendered immortal by the graphic exposure of it which Mr. Jefferson has bequeathed to the world.

The present seductive design to bribe the States may be supported by desperate politicians, who appeal rather to the avarice, than the virtue of their fellow men ; to the lust of power and the aggrandizement of the nation : but until our reading, thoughtful, inquisitive and virtuous people shall forget the patriotic and unanswerable arguments against it which have been lately delivered in the National Senate, that mischievous design can never prevail. It must perish, like the flame of a candle when lowered into the mephitic vapors of a well.

Obloquy has become a striking characteristic of the cloudless glory of an eminent man. And the opposition party heaps it with unmeasured profusion on a character, fertile, as I verily believe, in every quality that adorns a patriotic statesmen.

Cool and cautious, assiduous and persevering, the admirable temper, the indomitable courage, the virtuous fidelity and superior wisdom of the President have greatly contributed to conduct his country to her proud eminence among the nations of the earth.

When the pretensions of Mr. Van Buren were first brought before the people of the United States for the Presidential office, every political opinion that he had ever expressed, and every topic of objection that could possibly hinder his election to that high station in the country, were freely disclosed to the public mind, and canvassed with unscrupulous freedom and severity. This eminent man was reared in the principles of the democratic school ; and has avowed, illustrated and sustained those principles throughout his long political career. While but a minor in years, he gave to the republican administration of Mr. Jefferson, a zealous and indefatigable support. And when the hostile encroachment of Great Britain on our maritime rights, had suspended the foreign relations of this country, and roused the nation to a spirit of resistance, the non-intercourse act, the embargo, and every efficient measure calculated to uphold the honor and independence of his country, received Mr. Van Buren's cordial approbation and continued encouragement. And when the national renown could endure no further wrongs ; when the folly and injustice of England had driven the blessings of honorable peace from among us, Mr. Van Buren supported the war with zeal, wisdom and perseverance.

Soon after the declaration of war, he took his seat in the Senate of his native State ; and while hostile armies mustered on our soil, ravaged our coasts, burnt our towns, and in a spirit of savage barbarity, violated youth, beauty and innocence,—he advocated the belligerent measures of the nation with an energy which no disloyalty could check, no force resist, nor cowardice evade.

Mr. B. F. Butler, the late upright and accomplished Attorney General of the United States, resided with Mr. Van Buren at the time, and has publically declared that “there was no person in the State of New York, of Mr. Van Buren’s age, who had given a more efficient aid than he did to the measures of the General Government, during the whole period of the restrictive system. His cotemporaries of all parties might be appealed to, as witnesses, on this point. He was an open and decided advocate of all the strong measures proposed against Great Britain, during the session of Congress in 1811—12, the war included. Having been born and reared in the same town with him ; having been from July, 1812, until after the war, an inmate of his family, I am, says Mr. Butler, able to speak on this subject from personal knowledge.

The hostility of the Federalists towards him, as a party, in the county in which he then resided, was as decided and violent during the year 1812, as it had been before, or was afterwards. Indeed, it has never been withdrawn nor suspended from the commencement of his political career, to the present day.

In 1813, after the peace-loving Warrior of North Bend had abandoned the armies of his country for the securer scenes of private life, Mr. Van Buren continued to rouse and animate the heroic ardor of his fellow-citizens ; and to impress upon their minds the hopes and the glories that were staked on the valor of their hearts, and the vigor of their arms. “The same rights,” said he, “which you fought to obtain in the revolution, you must now fight to preserve ; the contest is the same now that it was then ; and the feelings which agitated the public mind—which, on the one hand, supported, and on the other hand sought to destroy the liberties of the country, will be seen and felt in the contest of the present day. I solicit the honest men of all parties, to remember that this is the last Republic ; that all the influence of the crowned heads in Europe, has been

exerted to propagate the doctrine that a Government like ours can never stand the shock of war ; to reflect that this is the first occasion in which this Government has been engaged in war ; and that the great and interesting question, whether man is capable of self-government—whether our Republic is to go the way of its predecessors ?—or whether, supported by the hearts and arms of her free citizens, she shall deride the revilings, and defeat the machinations of her enemies, are now to be tried.”

An eminent public man, now high in the councils of this country, in speaking of the services which Mr. Van Buren rendered the nation during the war, says : “ He was the man which the occasion required—the ready writer, prompt debater, judicious counsellor ; courteous in manners, firm in purpose. He contrived the measures, brought forward the bills and reports, delivered the speeches, and drew the State papers, which eventually vanquished the Federal party, turned the doubtful scales, and gave the elections of April, 1814, to the friends and supporters of Madison and the war—an event, the intelligence of which was received at Washington with an exultation only inferior to that which was received on the news of the victory at New Orleans. The new Legislature, now democratic in both branches, was quickly convened by Governor Tompkins ; and Mr. Van Buren had the honor to bring forward, and carry through, amidst the applauses of patriots, and the denunciations of the Anti-war party, the most energetic war measure ever adopted in America—the Classification Bill—to raise an army of twelve thousand State troops, to serve for two years, and to be placed at the disposal of the General Government.”

It will soon become our patriotic duty to determine at the polls, whether Mr. Van Buren has deserved to forfeit the continued approbation of his fellow-men—whether, in the administration of the General Government, he has been unmindful of the national welfare, or has departed from the great public principles on the credit of which he received the crowning honors of the nation.

Could I believe that he has betrayed his sacred trust, or proved himself inadequate to discharge the duties of it, in the voice of a free-man I would proclaim it to the world. But, as I can perceive amidst the arduous, delicate, and responsible duties of his high posi-

tion in the Union, the same wise, upright, and laborious zeal for the public weal that always characterized his previous career, the same deferential obedience to the popular will—the same dutiful solicitude to foster and perpetuate those great principles of constitutional liberty which sprouted in the blood, and flourished in the wisdom of the illustrious dead, I cannot wrong my country, and my constituents, the renown of our ancestors, and the cause of free government so much, as to fasten, by my suffrage, a badge of disgrace on the public character of such a man.

In a crisis like this, to dismiss that wise and faithful Magistrate from the Government, would be to throw the pilot overboard, when the fury of the wind and waves, and the still more destructive elements of human folly and injustice, are all in active combination to propel the vessel on a desolate shore. It would manifest ingratitude to the founders of our republican institutions, and the grossest ignorance of our perilous condition.

If we cannot appreciate the blessings we enjoy, nor comprehend the magnitude of the danger to which they are exposed, the organs of the heart and understanding must be barren of praise to our Creator, and unproductive to ourselves of that pleasure and utility which a dutiful recollection of the works of infinite wisdom should always afford to a rational mind.

I trust in Providence that a gracious and enlightened spirit will pervade the land, and rebuke that political extravagance which seeks to fasten on the country those baneful principles which have no root in the constitution—no sanction from the wisdom of our ancestors, nor from the dictates of patriotism; and which continually threaten the peace, security, and freedom of the only powerful, rational Republic in the world.

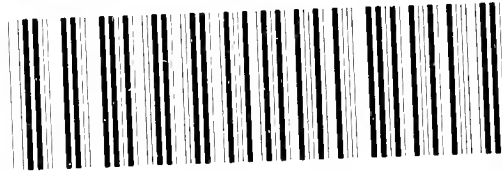
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